

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 211 640

DD 021 934

AUTHOR Flaxman, Erwin
 TITLE Information Resources in the Education of Ethnic Immigrants: Some Lessons from the Past.
 PUB DATE Dec 81
 NOTE 24p.; Paper prepared for the Conference on "The Education of Ethnic Minority Immigrants" (Miami, FL, December 13-16, 1981). Ethnic Minority Immigrants (Miami, FL, December 13-16, 1981).
 EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
 DESCRIPTORS Delivery Systems; *Educational Planning; *Ethnic Groups; *Immigrants; *Information Dissemination; Information Needs; *Information Networks; Information Sources; *Minority Groups; Program Development; Quality of Life
 IDENTIFIERS ERIC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education; National Clearinghouse for Drug Abuse Information; National Diffusion Network

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the development and current state of educational information resources and dissemination networks as a means of planning educational programs for ethnic minority immigrants. The national, regional and state dissemination networks are identified and discussed; the difficulties involved in the dissemination of information to ethnic minority groups are presented. Strategies are suggested for improving information availability through existing and alternative dissemination methods not only to educational planners but directly to members of ethnic groups. It is emphasized that a multicultural perspective is needed to maximize the success of any information system wishing to service the needs of ethnic immigrants. (JCD)

 * Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
 * from the original document. *

ED211640

Information Resources in the Education of

Ethnic Immigrants: Some Lessons

from the Past

By

Erwin Flaxman, Ph.D.
Director, ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Erwin Flaxman

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve
reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official NIE
position or policy.

Prepared for the conference on "The Education of Ethnic Minority
Immigrants," December 13-16, 1981, Miami, Florida

AD 021 934

Over the past twenty years the conduct of education in America has been aided by an elaborate formal system of information dissemination. We have assumed that the formal flow of organized information will make it possible to develop better educational policies, make better administrative decisions, design and implement better programs, and finally, carry out better research to support educational policies, decisions, and practices. Educational information has been formally disseminated through a variety of information systems, usually designed and managed by the Federal government. How much this information has been used and has had an ameliorative or detrimental effect on education is not clear. Common sense tells us the more information we have at critical times in our educational planning, the more confident we will feel about our decisions and the better our actions will likely be. We are at such a critical time now in determining how we can successfully provide equal and quality education for newly-arrived immigrant minorities that considers their educational needs and the social situation in which they currently live. It would be useful now to pause for a moment to consider the existing educational information resources and networks that can support this effort, particularly to understand how their current structure and organization can be used or revised to deal with the distinct educational needs of ethnic immigrants.

I propose to do this in several ways in this paper. First, I will trace the history of the development of educational information

dissemination in the United States as a way of indicating what resources currently exist, particularly for educating ethnic minorities--blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans, American Indians. Second, as an outgrowth I will examine the state of information and existing information networks for planning programs for ethnic immigrants. Here I want to make some suggestions for documentation, analysis, and networks. And third, I will examine another dimension of information dissemination, not to professionals who serve this group, but to the immigrant minorities themselves. In collecting and disseminating information we must have two concerns: to collect and disseminate the best information available for educational social planning but at the same time to increase the opportunity for appropriate information about life in the United States to reach the group itself in forms and through systems and networks that make it meaningful to the lives of members of this group. Along with other disadvantages, members of ethnic minority groups, particularly immigrants and refugees, are information poor, and in our society information is a distinct premium.

Information Dissemination in the United States

Historical Development

The story of the growth and maintenance of information networks in the United States is a tale of increased Federal involvement in education. At almost the same time that Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, the most substantial Federal

investment and intervention in schooling, the U.S. Office of Education created the ERIC system, the largest and most sustained effort to identify, collect, analyze, and disseminate educational information currently undertaken. The U.S. Government became involved in education and education dissemination, traditionally the domain of the states, for a number of reasons, but a few are particularly relevant to the education of ethnic minorities and other special populations.

In the late 1950s the Soviet Union appeared to be more scientifically and technologically advanced than the United States. The Sputnik crisis stimulated the passage of the National Defense Education Act, which supported basic and applied research of all kinds and, importantly, provided funds for the model of all subsequent Federally-funded inservice education programs, the NDEA teacher institutes for science and mathematics and foreign language teachers. We assumed that Soviet success was due to the national control of education, including identification of scientifically talented youth who were given special educational support. We followed suit. To make sure that we would have a generation of scientists and internationalists, the government intervened directly to upgrade the skills of science, math, and foreign language teachers. At the same time it increased its investment in science and technology. It developed what we now know as the R and D paradigm: funds would be available for research that can be readily applied to the development of technological

products in the service of establishing our scientific and military superiority. Remember the social fervor of the 1960s was accompanied by a race to the moon. Science and technology have never been constrained by geographical or legal entities; scientists and engineers have never had to be licensed by any state or municipality. Just so with the transfer of scientific and technical information, which was carried out by Federal information systems and national professional associations.

At this same time the Federal government assumed a second educational responsibility. Following the 1954 Brown decision in the U.S. Supreme Court, the nation recognized that a portion of the U.S. population was not receiving equal educational opportunities because they were being educated in segregated schools. De jure and de facto school segregation was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and thus support for state and local remedies could come from the Federal government. By the early 1960s at almost the same time that the space program was initiated, the nation saw the first summer Head Start programs, which followed the scientific and technical R and D model for designing educational services for disadvantaged preschool children. And by 1966, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act, we began the first Title IV programs for assisting schools in educating minority or disadvantaged youth in desegregated schools. Here too the Federal government assumed a role in education of poor, minority, and segregated youth, and in doing so transcended traditional state and local prerogatives and boundaries in educational

jurisdiction and control. It developed a national information system, first through ERIC and later through complementary networks, to support these interventions.

The Federal involvement in education in the early 1960s established the character of a great deal of later educational research, service, and dissemination. First, following the lead of science and technology, research would follow the R and D model in which nationally-determined educational problems would be studied so that a variety of educational products, mostly curriculums but also tests, desegregation models, training programs, and so forth, could be developed and disseminated to the states and local school districts. (Consider the long history of the contributions of the regional educational laboratories and the R and D centers to educational practice and their current role in dissemination.) Second, formal information dissemination through systems that transcend local, state, and regional districts was a legitimate Federal role. And third, the educational issue of greatest concern was the education of special populations, the gifted and talented and the poor, minority, and segregated.

What followed, the current structure for the collection and dissemination of educational resources and information, is the concern of the next section of this paper.

Current State of Information Dissemination

Information is currently being disseminated through various

Federal, state, regional and local networks, and by the individual systems of a variety of special educational interests.

National dissemination networks. National networks are characteristically more comprehensive than other dissemination networks. The subject of the information rather than the user determines what is collected and disseminated. Just as the coverage of a particular field is comprehensive, so too the dissemination is broad and scattered in an attempt to reach anyone who might use the information stored in the system. The user of the information only rarely or superficially defines the kind of information being collected or disseminated.

Some cases in point. ERIC, the Educational Resources Information Center, is made up of sixteen clearinghouses, each with a subject domain, which identifies, collects, and processes mostly unpublished reports and journals into central agencies that create Resources in Education, an abstract journal of mostly unpublished educational reports; Current Index to Journals in Education, an index to the published journal literature; ERIC microfiche, filmed reproductions of most of the actual documents available through ERIC (these are announced in Resources in Education and Current Index to Journals in Education). In well over 3,000 libraries or information centers in the United States any educator or lay person can use one or all of these abstract journals or microfiche or conduct a search of ERIC documents or journal articles. Because the system is national (even international now) the Clearinghouses collect

every type of information that has national relevance; if it appears too parochial or specific to a local situation it will not be made part of the data base. Currently no ERIC-related service or product is out of the geographic or professional reach of any educator in the United States. What is more, each ERIC Clearinghouse serves a constituency directly (foreign language teachers, special educators, early childhood educators, educational administrators, for example) through a variety of reference services or publications. Here too a service or product is available in some form to anyone for the asking.

There are a large number of other national but less comprehensive information data bases or clearinghouses in education currently. All of them in one way or another collect, store, analyze, and disseminate information on a specialized subject to a subset of a national audience. Some of them are:

1. The National Diffusion Network (NDN) provides information and services to help education agencies improve their programs by adopting or adapting validated exemplary programs described in a number of publications, catalogs, and brochures distributed nationally.
2. The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, modeled after the ERIC structure, collects and disseminates a variety of products internally developed and distributed to a specialized audience of workers in bilingual education. It also offers direct reference services to a network of regional Title VII centers.
3. The National Clearinghouse on Drug Abuse Information provides information services and a variety of publications to a broad range of users, from scientists and technicians to parents and children in communities throughout the United States.

Finally, a very different information dissemination system. Since the late 1960s the Federal government has been delivering educational information directly through television. First with Sesame Street and Electric Company, developed by Children's Television Workshop with funds made available by the U.S. Office of Education, and then through television programming developed by the National Institute of Education, educational information has been provided directly to a client population, who, even here, however, have been passive recipients.

Regional and state dissemination programs and networks. Our of a realization of the distance of users of a national system from the products and means of dissemination, the Federal government has helped to develop several regional and state networks which would increase the utilization of R and D information by school system and teachers.

One of these networks is the R and D Utilization Program of the National Institute of Education. In this program a number of project sites, mainly state departments of education, were given awards to develop special networks consisting of (1) an organization to develop R and D products to provide information on new educational practices, (2) a linkage network involving intermediary service agencies to help communicate the new practices developed by the R and D organization to and between the state departments of education and the local school systems, and (3) practitioners in local school systems, who would carry

out needs assessments and implement new classroom practices. The service area in each of these networks has been at least one and up to twelve sites. State and local officials, including school practitioners, participate actively in the design and implementation of the program through considerable participation in decisions about the organization of the overall project site and the educational practices implemented in the classroom, although the program is coordinated by a Federal agency and the R and D products are usually developed by Federally-funded R and D centers with national perspectives.

There have been other regional and state dissemination programs that have some of the features of the RDU model:

1. The Network of Child Service Demonstration Centers, which are funded to develop and disseminate model programs serving learning disabled students. The Network consists of 53 Child Service Demonstration Centers in 33 states and Puerto Rico and the National Learning Disabilities Assistance Project which provides technical assistance to the Centers.
2. The Research and Development Exchange, which provides a variety of information services, including information exchange and the targeting of information services to meet local needs to state educational agencies, intermediate service agencies, and local educational agencies, preschool through postsecondary. The primary participants of the Exchange are the regional educational laboratories, service contractors located at the laboratories, and the 33 participating states.

In almost all of these programs, the partitioner more actively participates in the dissemination system by choosing and adopting only those products and practices that satisfy local needs, yet there is still a "trickle down" effect. For the most part local officials adopt only what is made available to them, and, importantly, they have not

initiated and managed these programs but have been "invited" to participate. Significantly, most of the schools involved have been in suburban, small urban, and rural areas; most dissemination programs have not been designed to consider the peculiar ways schooling takes place in big cities.

Another kind of regional and state educational dissemination system should be considered here: the Federal technical assistance centers created to provide consultative and other services to assist school districts and schools to bring about race, sex, and national origin desegregation and the Title VII resource centers to deal more specifically with supporting schools in developing ESL and bilingual education programs for linguistic minorities. Here technical assistance and information provision would seem to be joined. The providers of this assistance are free to combine teacher training, materials development and assessment, information packaging, and direct consultation and advice to help the schools provide special services to ethnic minority children and youth. Here too, however, the extent and nature of these services are regulated by the Federal government, although the local schools and the technical assistance agency jointly determine the educational needs to be addressed and the remedies to be used in solving any problems.

Local School initiatives. In the past few years schools and school districts have increasingly identified and determined their various

information needs and drawn on existing available resources and networks. As the evaluations of the planned national educational programs showed striking variations in local settings and research begin to suggest that education can most effectively be carried and managed by controlling local school and classroom factors, school personnel have begun to form local collaborations to increase school effectiveness. Since the midseventies the National Institute of Education has been funding local problem solving projects precisely to determine the outcomes of school initiatives in analyzing local problems and drawing on existing resources or developing new resources to solve them. Even with a continuing Federal rôle in the dissemination of educational information, as the government removes itself from the provision of direct educational services, state and local educational agencies will have to consider more individual and local ways to obtain information.

One such local dissemination source is cable television. The cable provides an opportunity for the addition of numerous channels beyond the six or seven typically available. Cable capabilities allow for the reception of twenty or more channels in which the picture reception is much better than UHF broadcasts over-the-air. This provides an opportunity for new programs oriented toward specific communities, including discrete educational communities, who can be served by dedicated cable systems. There can be local program production to meet local educational needs. Very important, existing technology makes it possible for cable systems to carry signals in two directions -- they

are interactive; thus, viewers as learners in a educational or training mode can actively participate in a two-way program.

Special educational interests. A number of private organizations and associations, maintained by membership, special project, and often philanthropic income, provide information, usually in the form of publication, but occasionally information sources and technical assistance. Most of them are not devoted to ethnic minority or immigrant educational concerns, however.

Information Dissemination and the
Education of Ethnic Minority Groups

The organized formal information dissemination system in the United States has helped the progress to improve the education of ethnic minority groups. For at least the last fifteen years there have been regular channels for systematically disseminating research information and descriptions of innovative practices to any educator at any professional level. What is more, as the history of information dissemination in education shows, the Federal designers and managers of the system have developed some ways for the local user to initiate demands for information that alters the flow of information to the local school district of building. Arguably, the system works too well. Because of their wide availability ambiguous research or descriptions of questionable or untested innovations have been applied or adopted before they have been adequately scrutinized. The pressure to

disseminate information forces us to provide it prematurely. Rapid information transfer encourages rapid decisionmaking and policymaking. For example, there is a considerable amount of information about bilingual education circulating despite the short history of bilingual education in the United States. Under pressure to justify the value of bilingual education we may have overdocumented its early results, some of which do not support its promised success in educating Hispanics, Asian Americans, and other groups, in part because a system exists for disseminating them. Unless those who use dissemination systems to transfer critical information regulate their input they will contribute to the misuse of their own work. Notwithstanding this problem, the easy flow of educational information to educators has stimulated better research, policy, and practice in the education of the minority and poor. Because there has been an open and systematic flow of information about Head Start, for example, we have good information about the comparable value of a number of curriculums and instructional strategies, better materials in several mediums, more sensitive and tested techniques for parent involvement in the education of young children, and so forth.

The dissemination of information about the minority and poor has also been troubled by another problem: within the structure of large dissemination systems information cannot easily flow laterally or upwards. Thus a substantial amount of the work of individuals or organizations outside the educational mainstream can be left out or lost. It is not surprising that very recently a number of the larger equal

opportunity agencies and associations or groups such as the Urban League, NAACP, Aspira, the National Council for La Raza, and others, either have developed their own R and D dissemination capabilities or have allied themselves with existing organizations which are part of the R and D mainstream and dissemination network. The smaller, less well organized, special interest equity groups, however, still bemoan that most existing information resources do not satisfy their needs, nor are dissemination channels and networks structured meaningfully or fully open to them. Smaller minority colleges, parent and community groups, and other concerned with influencing policymakers and administrators who allocate, organize, and use educational resources (human, technical, and economic) recognize that it is vital for them to have appropriate dissemination channels to make their needs known and satisfied. Ethnic immigrant advocacy and education groups who require educational resources and information and in turn want these requirements met will have to consider this problem.

The most pressing issue in the education of ethnic immigrant groups has been their resettlement and absorption into American society first, and then schooling and training for life here. There is a considerable amount of information about the resettlement experience, particularly its social and psychological effects. We know that the immigrants' loss of status, identity confusion, generational conflict, language difficulties, poverty, prejudice and hostility in the United States work as alien pressures on the immigrant refugees' state of mind, already beset by the

problems of war, hunger, chaos, danger of escape, and separation from family that they brought to the United States. There is a growing literature on the development of cross-cultural mental health counseling models and such community agencies on mutual assistance associations, and soon we will hear of programs in criminal justice (Lopate, 1981). We have less information about the occupational training of these adults, and more critically, about the education of ethnic immigrant children.

Since 1975 at the time of the earliest immigration of refugees, a number of agencies have developed bilingual orientation materials for refugees and their sponsors dealing with such problems as community services, consumer education, employment, family planning and child care, health, housing, and so forth (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1981). A number of local school districts and such national organizations as the Center for Applied Linguistics developed bilingual teaching materials, phrase books, study and orientation guides to school behavior to meet the immediate and pressing needs of educating these new school groups. And there is a growing descriptive literature on Title VII bilingual education programs. Yet we know scarcely nothing about how these children and youth are being educated or their parents or families being trained for jobs. And with the possible limiting of Federal and other funds for the documentation and evaluation of special programs, we not easily get this information in the future, even about mental health and adjustment programs which have been better documented.

There are several kinds of information resources and methods for disseminating them we should consider. First, for educators, the

literature on the social stress of resettlement will be more useful to us when we are able to distinguish the differential effect of the resettlement experience on children and youth at different ages or ethnic or social class. Also we must have cross-cultural perspectives in counseling these youth and understand that behavior disorders may be responses to an immediate situation rather than endemic to the child or culturally-determined. We must increase the incentives for conducting educational research into these questions and for developing programs and materials. The channels for making this information available are in place, through professional meetings and formal dissemination systems.

Second, we must document out-of-classroom and within-classroom programs for educating ethnic immigrant youth. It will not be enough to compile, the traditional data for a progress report on a bilingual education or ESL program. These program reports do not adequately convey the complex interaction between the child's culture and cognitive and language ability and his or her academic progress. Also, they never tell us enough about the teacher's methods, the quality of particular materials, and the local school situation to help us continue to improve program design. Here I question whether there is enough incentive to provide this kind of formal documentation. This is likely local information that can be exchanged through interpersonal communication. To disseminate it local authorities must institute workshops and seminars for local educators to exchange this kind of information.

Finally, the problem of ethnic immigrant advocacy groups to make their concerns felt. Many such groups readily consider themselves

peripheral to the educational and social mainstream. Sometimes this can strengthen their capacity and legitimacy in working for the good of the group they represent. Nevertheless, they share a concern for maintaining a flow of variety of economic, intellectual, and technical resources to their special group with every other ethnic advocacy group. We now know that making the education of the ethnic and minority poor part of the national education agenda will do more for these groups than any other strategy. Immigrant ethnic advocacy groups should form collaborations and associations with a number of research, policy, and dissemination agencies to seek their help in articulating their information and other needs in ways that they can gain and hold local, regional, or national attention. The networks for making these needs known or for delivering the required information and resources are in place. Local cable and on-the-air television is a good starting point both for increasing public awareness of ethnic immigrant social life and for providing education and training to the groups themselves.

Providing information to Ethnic Immigrant Groups

It is very important that we become conscious of the ways of providing information to ethnic minority groups to allow them to function successfully in American society. To be without information or access to information sources is to be without resources for social betterment. We must realize that neither increased dissemination through existing channels nor new opportunities created by further growth in social and

educational information is going to improve the lives of ethnic immigrants until we address the distinct problems of information poverty characteristic of ethnic minorities in our society.

Information poverty is a lack of information, a lack of access to information, and a lack of appropriate information to meet social goals. It is usually a consequence of being part of a low status cultural group, who by virtue of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, geographic location, language or dialect, or age is less well served socially or even is disenfranchised. The information poor, particularly low status racial and ethnic groups but others as well, share some of the following characteristics:

1. Little literacy and few number or memorization skills.
2. Little ability or inclination to seek and use formal or literate information and to value it in any way, possibly because of previous failures to have needs met or suspicious about the source of the information.
3. An inclination to value oral over written sources of information.
4. A tendency to interact with people essentially like oneself; a mistrust of outsiders, including so-called experts or informed professionals as sources of help, information, or advice.
5. A strong habit of spending a long media day (in some cases up to half a waking day) watching or listening to high entertainment and low information television or radio.
6. A dependency on social agencies for information and service which are beset by problems of inefficiency, red tape, ambivalence toward clients, which are barriers to effective delivery of help or information. (Childers and Post 1975; Dervin 1977).

As in many interventions with low status cultural or social groups to bring about information equity we must adopt a multicultural perspective. This means recognizing that attitudes toward information are functions of the idiosyncratic values and beliefs of a particular cultural heritage and usually come from cultural affiliations rather than individual experiences. Since we know that information tends to be transmitted through social relationships for these groups rather than through formal, impersonal information channels, we must determine the roles that oral channels, the media, schools, adult centers, libraries and social agencies can play in the cultural lives of these groups. (Cochrane and Atherton 1980). Very important we must consider the relevance and value of the information to the group, and not be confused by our estimate of the worth of the information:

Most people seek access only to information that they value. Most individuals disseminate information that is seen as useful to others. A mismatch of values between information seekers and information disseminators may account for information inequity.... Often information is not valued unless it is produced by a certain source and thus given legitimacy. Officially produced information which comes from a source that is not known to have done anything for the information constituency is not likely to be regarded with a great deal of credibility. (Cochrane and Atherton 1980:290)

There is a clear connection here between culture and the value of information which is rarely considered in our society. Information specialists usually do not actively design information and communication networks to consider cultural behavior. The result is that the number of information poor increase as our society becomes more complex and the control of information flow continues to rest in the same hands.

There are obvious ways that we can reduce the information poverty of ethnic immigrant groups. First we must adopt a multicultural perspective that recognizes the importance of cultural behavior. More specifically, we should determine the appropriate medium of interaction or communication (print, film, video, interpersonal, and so forth). Then we can assign the best personnel to teach or communicate knowledge or information (member of the cultural group or outsider, paraprofessional or professional) and the setting (school, community setting, home). These are not radical suggestions; common sense would dictate that we follow them.

Conclusion

No piece of information can change a situation unless conditions allow it. The best designed program with validated curriculum and instructional strategies will fail if local school or school district factors inhibit effective schooling. So with any piece of information. Even more, if the policy of the U.S. government or any state or local agency is ambivalent about educating ethnic minority immigrants they will not be properly educated, no matter how much we know about appropriate educational practices or how we disseminate this information to these who need it. Information like everything else exists in a social and political world.

Yet we do know something about increasing the chance that information will be used effectively if the conditions are right. I want to

conclude by pointing out one or two fundamental truths. Resistance to the change that information makes possible is firmly entrenched and lies at both national and emotional levels. People change only because the change is rewarding to them personally, to their group, or to their institutions. People also want to be successful; educators, especially those working with populations difficult to educate, need to feel that they are effective professionals. The information we disseminate must show them that it is possible to educate ethnic immigrant groups and that it is in their best professional, social, and moral interests to do so. This means that information systems have to do more than collect, store, and disseminate information. They have to provide ways for the client or consumer, whether educational professional working in a minority school or community or a member of the ethnic minority group itself, to make sense of the information being provided. For those working with minorities, this means that the information cannot just be facts, but also must clarify issues, offer a sense of control and motivate the client to use the information, and finally must provide some kind of resolution, even only a temporary one. Information must increase the possibility of success, not make it harder to achieve it.

References

Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C. Orientation Resource Center. A Guide to Orientation Materials for Indochinese Refugees and Their Sponsors. April 1981.

Childers, Thomas, and Joyce A. Post. The Information Poor in America. Metuchen, N.J. Scarecrow Press, 1975.

Cochrane, Glynn, and Pauline Atherton. "The Cultural Appraisal of Efforts to Alleviate Information Inequity," Journal of the American Society for Information Science, 31(4):283-92, July 1980.

Dervin, Brenda. Communicating With, Not to, the Urban Poor. ERIC/CUE Urban Diversity Series, No. 50. New York: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1977. ED 150240.

Lopate, Carol. The United States' New Refugees: A Review of the Research on the Resettlement of Indochinese, Cubans, and Haitians. ERIC/CUE Urban Diversity Series, No. 75. New York: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1981.